1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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DEDICATION.

TO

CASPAR WISTAR, M. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

Having, at your particular request, undertaken the arduous task, of giving to the Historical Committee of our Society, an Account of those Indian Nations and Tribes which once inhabited Pennsylvania and the adjoining States, including those who are known by the name of the "Six Nations;" I have now, as far as has been in my power, complied with your wishes, or at least I have endeavoured so to do.

Foreseeing the difficulties I should labour under, in writing the history of a people, of whom so many had already written, I could not but consider the undertaking both as unpleasant and hazardous; being aware, that it would be impossible for me in all respects to coincide with those who have written before me; among whom there are not a few, who, although their good intentions cannot be doubted, yet from their too short residence in the country of the Indians, have not had sufficient opportunities to acquire the knowledge which they undertake to communicate. Ignorant of the language, or being but superficially acquainted with it, they have relied on ignorant or careless interpreters, by whom they have been

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of the following pages, having already seen what has induced me to come forward with an historical account of the Indians, after so many have written on the same subject, will perhaps look for something more extraordinary in this, than in other works of the kind which he has seen. Not wishing any one to raise his expectations too high, I shall briefly state, that I have not written to excite astonishment, but for the information of those who are desirous of knowing the true history of those people, who, for centuries, have been in full possession of the country we now inhabit; but who have since emigrated to a great distance. I can only assure them, that I have not taken the information here communicated from the writings of others, but from the mouths of the very people I am going to speak of, and from my own observation of what I have witnessed while living among them. I have, however, occasionally quoted other authors, and in some instances copied short passages from their works, especially where I have thought it necessary to illustrate or corroborate my own statements of facts.

In what I have written concerning the character, customs, manners, and usages of these people, I cannot have been deceived, since it is the result of personal knowledge, of what I myself have seen, heard, and witnessed, while residing among and near them, for more than thirty years. I have however to remark, that this history, like other histories of former times, will not in every respect comport with the character of the Indians at the present time, since all these nations and tribes,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1946; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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INTRODUCTION

IT WAS my privilege and pleasure in the spring of 1930 to record the following data on native medical practices and folk beliefs as dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, "Walks With Daylight," a Delaware Indian of Dewey, Oklahoma. Wi·tapanóxwe was retained as an informant for some months in Philadelphia with the aid of funds provided, in part, by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Some interesting facts concerning his life, as well as historical data pertaining to the location, migrations, and present status of the Delaware Indians were presented in a preceding volume (Speck, 1931) of this series. It seems unnecessary, therefore, for me to duplicate such information in the present monograph.

The material presented herein is offered not as a complete and exhaustive study of the curing practices and plant lore of the Delaware Indians but as the theories, practices, and beliefs of one practitioner—information for the most part to be regarded as personal property bequeathed to the informant by certain members of his family or revealed to him in dreams. There are, however, incorporated in these notes descriptions of certain observances of a more general nature which represent the common property of the tribe.

To much that has been written giving actual data on the pharmacology of various tribes in North America, the collection of Delaware material presented here will prove a helpful addition. Among the leading studies in this field, mention should be given to that of Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco (1916) on the Tewa, and various others by Mooney (1892), Swanton (1928a, 1928c), Speck (1937b) and Olbrechts (Cherokee MS., 1929) for the Southeast. For the Algonkian-speaking peoples of various tribal and cultural types the quantity of published material is also considerable, permitting ere long some attempt at a comparative summary. In this connection similar data contained in the Menomini studies of Smith (1923), and Bloomfield (1928); the Ojibwa researches of Hoffman (1893), and Densmore (1928); Gilmore's material (1919) from the Misouri River region, not to mention information published by Speck (1907, 1909, 1911, 1915, 1917), all offer much that is suggestive of the historical background from which such practices and beliefs may be supposed to have developed.

In connection with such studies I have in mind also the collections of unpublished herbal and charm cures obtained from various remnants of Algonkian peoples on the Atlantic seaboard by Dr. Speck (Powhatan MS.), Dr. Hallowell (St. Francis Abenaki MS.), and myself (1928; Gayhead and Mashpee Indian MS.). The material from these various

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL DELAWARE CULTURE FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Mary W. Herman

INTRODUCTION

Because of the early date at which the east coast tribes came into contact with Europeans and the scarcity of records which in most cases remain from that period, little is known about the culture of those tribes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that several early accounts of Delaware culture have been preserved, making possible a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of at least one culture from this general area.

Information regarding the culture of the Delaware Indians at the time of contact with European civilizations is limited to records written by Europeans during the seventeenth century, and to a limited extent, those written during the eighteenth century when recollections of earlier days were still reasonably fresh and reliable. The reconstruction of a culture from such sources requires more than a mere compilation of material as there is much of a contradictory and obscure nature contained in the records. The following paper represents a systematization and critical analysis of the material in an effort to present as full and accurate a picture of the culture as the facts allow.

The two most important sources of Delaware ethnography in the early contact period are William Penn and Peter Lindstrom. Lindstrom was born in Stockholm in 1632. He studied at the University of Upsala where he specialized in mathematics and the arts of fortification. He came to the Swedish colony in the New World in 1653 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Swedish government, with the rank of an officer but with no salary. Later he became Engineer and Clerk of Court, and his duties in that position consisted in traveling throughout New Sweden making maps and sketches. In this way, he had excellent opportunities for observing the natives, who were still within close range of the Swedish settlements. Lindstrom left New Sweden in 1655. Although he did not write the Geographie until 1691, its close similarity to the report which he gave to the Swedish Crown shortly after his return has led Amandus Johnson to the opinion that he had made substantial notes at the time he was in this country. His work where it represents the actual observations of the author appears to be completely trustworthy, in spite of the fact that many of his premises and interpretations would be unacceptable today (Lindstrom, introd. by Johnson).

William Penn first arrived in America in 1682. Shortly after his arrival, he made an extensive tour of his dominions and dealt

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa''tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ''tanito'-wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Indian mind, the spirits or gods partook largely of the nature of mankind—Why could not a chief of gods be as natural a concept as a chief of men? In the case of the Shawnee, the Creator or Great Spirit is usually spoken of as a woman, "Our Grandmother Paboth'kwe"—surely not a missionary idea!

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Let us trace back the Great Spirit concept among the Lenape, and find what the early writers say about it. Perhaps the earliest is in Danker and Sluyter's Journal[2] of about 1679, in which an old Indian living near Bergen, New Jersey, is quoted as saying: "The first and great beginning of all things, was Kickeron or Kickerom, who is the origin of all, who has not only once produced or made all things, but produces every day. . . . He governs all things."

William Penn,[3] in a letter dated Philadelphia, August 16, 1683, says: "They believe a God and Immortality; for they say, There is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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INTRODUCTION

The consummation of religious fervor of the Delaware Indians, as among many preliterate peoples, is reached in the periodic communal ceremony of the Big House which continued in performance through twelve consecutive nights. The Big House Ceremony was made a subject of study in 1928 and published as a separate volume in a series of monographs by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.[1] In the annual religious cycle of the Delawares, however, other rites and ceremonies of no less importance, though of shorter duration and with less formal preparation, had their place. A series of these minor performances and rites are to claim attention in the present study. The material was gathered between 1928 and 1932 under an appropriation for publication, as a second volume of Delaware ethnological research, granted by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania. Acknowledgment is accordingly made to the Historical Commission for sponsorship in financing the project and releasing the manuscript in 1935.[2]

Among the existing members of the Delaware or Lenape Nation, now dwelling within the confines of the old Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, many of these ancient rituals have continued in practice down to the present day, having been transported with the tribe from its original seats in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of them are, indeed, mentioned, even described, by early missionary authors who strove so long to abolish them. The opportunity to study the concepts of these age-old ceremonials of a venerable tribe comes as a welcome augment to the all too meagre documentary records of such human achievements in the development of religion at

[1] Frank G. Speck, "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, in Native Text Dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe." Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1931. Frequent reference will be made to this study under the abbreviation *Big House Ceremony*.

[2] Correspondence, Miss Frances Dorrance, Director, and Miss Myrtle Keeny, Acting Executive Secretary, Jan. 10-12, 1935.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi'tapano'xue*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni''ka'ni'paxoxue*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwulc'pagi''kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NMAI Delaware NM7
Lenape

small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we have accordingly good prospective material to work over for the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[1] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi·tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[1] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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121 An explanation is also needed to account for omission in the present study of treatment of the Peyote cult which has invaded the religious complex of the Delawares in Oklahoma. Within the past fifty years a considerable number of families have been converted to this much-discussed, I may say, much-maligned, doctrine of psychophysical therapeutics. The Peyote creed has therefore become an element in the religious life of the tribe. Its history may be simple as an acculturation, but its elements under modification in the minds of its Delaware converts with their old spiritual system in the background remains a subject for research. This has been undertaken by Dr. V. M. Petrullo and the results have become available in his dissertation.[4]

000 In carrying out the purpose of studies projected among the various bands of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma and Ontario, several sources of coöperation deserve mention, namely that afforded me by Dr. George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in securing specimens to illustrate the performances; by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, and several private collectors, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker II, Mr. Robert Riggs and Mr. Earl Horter of Philadelphia. A collection of articles illustrating Delaware religion in ethnology is also on loan exhibition by the writer in the rooms of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Media, Pennsylvania. To Miss D. M. Spencer, Dr. H. Wieschhoff and Mr. L. C. Eiseley I am indebted for cooperative aid.

[122] The Committee of the Faculty Research Fund, University of Pennsylvania, has awarded several grants, gratefully acknowledged, for field work in Delaware-Munsee religion among the bands resident in Ontario.

To Mr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, I am also indebted for valued assistance in checking over the texts and translations, and my discussions of rites and tales, with his field notes.

114 Before proceeding to the subject matter of my study, one more comment upon the character of ancient documentary

[4] V. M. Petrullo, "The Diabolic Root, A Study of Peyotism, the New Indian Religion Among the Delawares." University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 1–185.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period.

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits.

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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121 128 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 128 177 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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177 otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of
• 771 one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, espe-
764 cially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

177 I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change
121 of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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FOREWORD

IN offering this volume of source material to serious-minded readers, as well as to that widening circle of students of American ethnology and the history of religions, it is hoped for one thing that by it the literature on the religious aspect of life of the Indians of eastern North America, far too long neglected by investigators of our schools, will be elevated to a station worthy of consideration alongside the beliefs and ceremonies of native peoples in other culture areas of the continent.

Aside from my acknowledgments to Wi·tapano'xwe, whose genial spirit and fertile mind were the *sine qua non* of the study, I rejoice in expressing them also to certain others; to Albert Cook Myers for having advised me so opportunely in 1928 to apply to the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania for a research grant the very week the Great Spirit sent Wi·tapano'xwe to my office in search of employment; to Dr. H. H. Shenk for his confidence in my ability to carry on the task and for his generous compliance with my desires in connection with it, many of them whimsical I am sure; to the members of the Historical Commission for the absolute liberty granted me during its progress as to time and manner of work; to Florence Insley Speck for the encouragement rendered in her deep respect for and interest in the motifs of Delaware religious performance; to Gladys Tantaquidgeon for her constant encouragement and counsel, and for the indexing, and to Dr. William J. Phillips for critical reading of the manuscript. Indeed, those many individuals vested with administrative authority in the state who have lent their approval and support in various ways to such a project as this one, intended to be of permanent value to our learned posterity, also deserve commendation for their part in the undertaking.

F. G. SPECK,
University of Pennsylvania.

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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansa, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt [668] the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
● 121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student.

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.[1] Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released.

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been Gamwing, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.[2] Of equal prominence is the designation Xinwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not

[1] Compare Heisberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *recondyn marcreli*." This is the equivalent of ma'wuniwolaggu'ndi.n, "all agree to make peace."

[2] The term was no more capable of explanation in Heisberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called 'ngammain, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."
[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).
[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.
[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

276 Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

175 177 276 795 A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P. 33, A]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

It is difficult for the archaeologist, when he lifts from the dirt a fragment of pottery, a bone awl, a projectile point, to have much feeling for the people of whom these relics are the sole material remains. Unavoidably, in the pages of archaeological reports, a people of the past is only a hollow-sounding name identified with a certain style of pottery or a certain type of flint-knapping. It is as if, a thousand years hence, scientists were able to say of ourselves no more than, "The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, about the year 1950 A.D., made many roads and buildings out of concrete; they also used metals extensively, and presumably had an elaborate social and ceremonial organization. . . ."

In this paper I shall try to tease out from the fragmentary historical accounts surviving from the period of colonization, some description of what kind of people the Delaware Indians were, psychologically. This reconstruction must inevitably be sketchy, inadequate, and mistaken in many ways which can never be discerned; and, of course, it does not reach back into the ages before white men came to America. But it is as clear a picture, in terms of modern psychological theory, as we can get of the Delawares as people, in that already clouded past from which such glimpses as these, and the lonely fragments of stone, pottery, and bone that the archaeologist uncovers, are the sole surviving evidences.

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.9, A]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by VERNON LESLIE

121 READERS of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

101 The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is 174 to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

172 In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manisfestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

[P.10,A]

114
174 The possibilities of this 'acculturation theory' seemed so appealing that I sent a letter to Dr. Claude Schaeffer, then of the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg, who was handling the publication of my manuscript, asking him to append my new view of the Minsi problem as a concluding footnote. For some reason which was never explained to me, however, this was not done.

Meanwhile in Rochester, Dr. William A. Ritchie, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Edmund S. Carpenter, were laying plans for a 1947 summer expedition in the upper Delaware area under an Indiana Historical Society grant for the purpose of attacking the Minsi problem as a phase of the wider question of determining the validity of the Walum Olum. The results of this expedition, with which the writer was for a time associated, have been ably and fully set forth by Dr. Ritchie in "The Bell-Philhower Site, Sussex County, New Jersey", Volume III, Number 2, Prehistory Research Series, The Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

The most important part of Ritchie's report bearing upon the present problem is the material contained on pages 194, 195, and 196. Briefly, Ritchie, while including the caution that the "evidence leaves something to be desired", concludes that the original Minsi Culture began as the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect and was later modified by Unami and later still by Iroquoian elements.

● 121 In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing, it is now possible to approach a description of the elements of Minsi material culture. It is obviously of value and interest to the numerous amateur and occasional professional archaeologists who do field work in the Minsi area to have at least a tentative idea of which artifacts can be assigned to the Minsi hori-

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 So far as the writer has been able to
276 determine, no stone pipes attributable to
323 the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2).
[531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 Pottery may be of various Owasco types
415 (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather promi-
323 nent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p209 (A)]
[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

•121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340–43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

[513]
[291]

000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

[648]